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AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA.

SPEECH

OF

THE HON. WILLIAM B. REED,

At the Board of Trade, in the City of Philadelphia,

ON TUESDAY, MAY 31, 1859.

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN: I thank you in all sincerity for this welcome home. I thank you, too, for the opportunity of saying a few words as to my visit home—I mean those of the United States—to the Head, and especially as to the course of conduct, which, under the instructions of the Government, I pursued in China. Even to this moment, it has been my lot to be misrepresented, and to be silent. And though I have had my share of adverse criticism, no word of contradiction or defence has passed my lips or been uttered by my pen. The time has now come, however, when to a certain extent I can speak out, and by a plain and precise narrative of what has been done, and prevented, give you, my immediate townsmen, and each of the public to take an interest in the subject, materials for a solid judgment on the policy of the Government, as well as my own conduct.

The policy of the United States in China, by universally people abroad, and some inconsiderate ones at home, had been much criticised. We have been censured because we chose, having no earthly ground of quarrel with China, to stand off, to look on the conduct of others, and then to accept from the Chinese the treaty offer of all the advantages had, by the issue of war, either parties had contorted for themselves. It was for a moment, how this matter really stands in point of common sense, to my nothing of common morality, and by way of one answer to such gentle, let me suggest the alternative of our having done just the reverse of what we did; of our having joined in a distant and expensive war, to the destruction of trade and sacrifice of materials interests, or being neutral, of having refused the concessions which the Chinese or their own accord have made to us. Now that the excitement is all over, let me in all candor ask, what would have been the thought of us had we done either of the two? Universally, I believe, we could have had the judgment of the people—I do not speak of partisans who find fault with whatever is done—but of the sober, patriotic, business men of this country, had the President involved us in gratuitous hostilities with China, or had I, as the diplomatic agent of our country, callously refused to accept the privileges which a friendly and neutral position secured to us? I beg to say to you that there were many times during the past eighteen months when, had I consulted my own inclinations, I should have gladly withdrawn from scenes of bloody and unequal war, the inherent complaint of the very strong with the very weak; but when I assure you that such a withdrawal would have been most sincerely deplored by the belligerent allies, who wished and perhaps needed the moral support of the neutral Powers of which the United States and I were the poor Chinese, were in their helplessness, looked upon as their sole friends, and supplicated us to remain. I say all that is needed to justify the attitude we assumed and maintained. Nay, I can go further, and have every reason to know that no one, in the end, did more full and exact justice to the attitude, which, as the representative of a resolutely neutral Power, I pursued from first to last, than old Lord Elgin, or said more frankly acknowledge the friendly spirit, in which, especially the supplementary negotiations (and they were sometimes, or might easily have been made difficult and delicate,) were initiated and conducted to a most satisfactory result, and I ought in justice to myself and them to add, that never, in more than a year's close association with the belligerent Plenipotentiaries did there occur between us any such difference of opinion as caused, or left the least trace of personal unfriendliness. We parted at Shanghae in November last, as we had met a year before, on terms of mutual kindness and respect. If that swarm of busy scribblers, such as attempt to foster the success of retrograde journals, have failed to prove any intrigue and conspiracy; if their "secret history of American diplomacy" does not disclose the secret springs of Russian influence, exercised darkened our path; I always found that candor, good temper, and moderate exercise of good sense, were more than a match for them; and I assure you, gentlemen, in spite of the newspapers, we were excellent friends, and kept our respective countries in that friendly relation, which, perhaps, in this crisis of the world's affairs, is now more than ever important. And, Mr. Mayor, as I am talking unreservedly amongst my friends and neighbors, I cannot refrain from adding a tribute to another distant friend; I refer to the Naval Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces in the East, Sir Michael Seymour—one of those rare, pure men, who have made the English Navy what it is, the greatest in the world—a gallant, loyal man, a friend of our country and (I speak from personal experience) of our countrymen—and I but utter the feeling of American residents in China, and of every officer and sailor of our own squadron in the East, when I say he was regarded with affection and respect by all.

That the belligerents would, at the outset, have been better pleased had we shared the expense and danger of a Chinese war, is, no doubt, true; but that they, I mean those in authority, ever uttered a word or entertained a thought of resentment because we did not, is not in any sense true. I am sorry to dwell on this matter further, but it is a question worth asking—What had we to go to war with China about? Did the aggregation of all the minor wrongs which that perverse nation had ever done to us constitute a reason for the exposure of a human life, or the expenditure of one dollar in distant military armaments? The total amount of pecuniary claims (now, I am happy to say, settled without a harsh word or unpleasant thought) never amounted to a million of dollars, and not, at the beginning of the war, amount to more than a fifth of that sum, for, you will recollect, the bulk of our claims are of recent occurrence, for loss of property at the factories, when the Chinese were defending their own soil, and for which they are only responsible on the unchristian principle of English and American public law, that the assisted party always pays the damages. The Viceroy at Canton had refused to receive our ambassador into the city, a privilege we not only had never asked, but which we had on one occasion disclaimed. He had evaded official intercourse, as all Chinese will do. A President's letter had been returned by one of the provincial authorities with the seal broken and unanswered. This is the sum of the wrongs we had, on our own account, to complain of, and I do not hesitate to say, that the proposition to make a distant and expensive war, to the sacrifice of trade, for such causes, would have been hooted at by Congress and the nation. But did our expectant allies suggest any other reasons for our active cooperation? A French missionary priest had been butchered under circumstances of great atrocity. Were we to go to war with China for that? As well might we now be engaged in war with Cochin China for the same reason. When, in 1856, an American citizen was killed at Foochau in a street brawl, there was a correspondence in the admiralties given by the British Vice-Consul, and approved by Lord Clarendon, that the murder was purely an American affair, and that British subjects had better not mix themselves up in it. Had the English cause of war any greater attractions for us? What was the Lorcha *Arrow*, with its engrafted grievance of intramural intercourse, what were these to us? One Parliament in Great Britain had condemned a war on this account. To its successor it was never mentioned; and I do not believe any conscientious man in England now thinks it a wise or a just war. In every point of view, therefore, active cooperation by us, with or without the assent of Congress, was out of the question. This decision not to be involved in an English war was no new one, for, during the latter days of Mr. Fillmore's administration, Mr. Secretary Marcy instructed our Minister in China, not only that the United States had no cause of war with China, but that there was no obligation, perfect or imperfect, on China, that required him to consider that point that we might find it expedient or convenient to select.

Matters thus standing, I think no candid man will say that any other course was open to the President than that which he adopted—of declining to be involved in these hostilities, and at the same time, in the most frank and friendly spirit cooperating with the other Powers in any peaceful measures of redress. On this ground, and with instructions that accorded so evasion, had I been disposed to seek for it, it was my lot to be sent, arriving in China early in November, 1857. I have every reason to believe, though, of course, I speak without authority, that the issue of Mr. Cass' refusal, and the appointment of a Special Envoy to act with the English and French Russian Plenipotentiaries in the spirit which my instructions prescribed, was entirely satisfactory to the representative of her Majesty at Washington; and it was in this spirit of contentment that copies of the confidential instructions of each were exchanged without reserve. In this connection I venture to refer to an incident of our diplomatic intercourse in China, which may not have been without bad, though temporary effect. When I arrived in China and in my first intercourse with the Earl of Elgin, I felt myself embarrassed, by his inexplicable silence, or apparent ignorance of the instructions under which I was acting. I could not understand how to reconcile this silence or this ignorance, with what I supposed to be the fact that a copy of my instructions had been placed for transmission in Lord Malmesbury's hands. I had no alternative but to be silent too, though I thought it due to myself that Lord Elgin should know, in a general way, the limitations which were imposed on my action. Many months afterwards the mystery was solved, and the missing despatches came to light. By a clerical or Post-office blunder somewhere in the East, these documents, which should have reached Lord Elgin before my arrival, followed him, on his trip to India, as far as Singapore, were then sent back to London, and did not reach him in China till several months afterwards. I incline to think that some transitory unpleasant feeling might have been saved had these despatches arrived in season. Their not doing so was no fault of mine or of the Government at Washington.

My first duty, on arriving in China, was to put myself in communication with the Imperial Commissioner at Canton. My orders to this effect were explicit. In language which was meant to be that of courtesy but of decision, I asked of Yeh a personal interview. His answer, delayed no longer than sufficient communication rendered necessary, for the rivers was blockaded and everything had to be sent through the Portuguese authorities at Macao, so far from being, as has been represented, indecorous and peremptory, was eminently courteous and respectful. It was evasive, of course, and I expected nothing else. Yeh did not write to me in the insulting tone he had used to some of my predecessors; he did not seek to handy clumsy sarcasm with me as with Lord Elgin, but he answered me with remarkable courtesy, (the precise value of which, I beg you to believe, I properly estimate,) and gave as a reason for not seeing me what, I confess, seemed to me a pretty good one, that the English had destroyed the suburban residences where the former personal interviews had been had, and that he had no fit place in which to meet me. It was, I freely admit, at the time, a matter of transient regret to me that this personal intercourse was declined, as it extinguished the very faint hope I had of mediation and good offices, and of averting, by inducing timely concession on his part, the storm of war which I knew was about to burst. It is due to candor to say that from subsequent revelations I am satisfied there was no ground for this hope, and that Yeh's doom was pre-ordained. I shall never regret that I discharged the duty prescribed by my instructions and made the communication which I did.

Then began a season of endurance which to an active mind was hard to bear. No one not on the spot can well comprehend the state of feeling, morbid and deranged in every way, that existed in the south of China in the first month or two after my arrival, and how hard it was to hold to one's anchorage. There was a war fever. With rare exceptions, for there were some few who kept their balance, the judgment of every one seemed overset. The merchant and the missionary, the Catholic and the Protestant, for once agreed; and the ruins of the factories and of the Honan packhouses, and the blackened walls of chapels and hospitals, stimulated all to one loud cry for vengeance on the Chinese who were not the authors of the war. Had I yielded for a moment to the influences around me, a mischief would have been done which time and friendly diplomacy never could have repaired, and now that the game of lingering war has been played out by others, my gratitude is unbounded that I was firm enough to keep my country out of it. One word of ill-advised sympathy—one rash suggestion to the naval commanders to put such of their ships as were available within the reach of the fire of a people so inexpert and inadministrating as the Chinese—and the mischief would have been done, and it is not easy, even now, to measure what that mischief would have been. Aside from consequences to myself in certain discredit and recall, (for no Administration would have ventured to sustain me,) I should have seen our gallant sailors and marines wasting their courage and expending their accomplishments of war on feeble adversaries, and slaughtering women and children. I should have seen them throwing away their lives before paltry and irregular defences, and when the victory was won, and our flag, united with those of England and France, had been planted over the dismal ruins of Canton, we should have been partakers of a conquest more troublesome and perplexing than conquerors ever had before—soldiers and sailors doing police duty amidst ruins; a local government organized within a government, and the conquerors hard at work to keep the rickety machine in motion and the restless officials in their places; an army of occupation practically prisoners; assassination habitual, and revenge bloody; commerce suspended, if not annihilated, and a new chapter of vindictive memories opened, the end of which no one can foresee. Such is Canton as I have seen it since December, 1857. Such is the wretched Canton warfare, from a share in which, by a strict and cheerful conformance to my instructions, I am proud to say I have saved my country. The only real difficulty with China had been summarily settled at the Barrier Forts before my arrival; and for the future, we thought it our duty and our interest to be neutral, and we were so, absolutely.

But in the neutrality and inaction to which, for a month before and after the fall of Canton, we condemned ourselves, there was nothing suggested, or attempted, or done, calculated to embarrass the course of the belligerents. So far as I could repress it, everything of the kind, in the way of protest or complaint of irregularity in the blockades on the part of Americans, who saw their business interrupted and trade sacrificed, was prevented. For this no credit is due or claimed, but the fact is so, and I state it simply to shew our neutrality was not, at least, actively mischievous. Such a war, perfect or imperfect, as I found existing in the Canton River, I affirm to be without parallel in the history of international relations, unless it be in some of the precedents of late years, when *France* threatened Mexico and Buenos Ayres, in 1838, and England embargoed the Piraus, in 1850. It once was doctrine well settled, "*hostes hi sunt qui nobis, aut quibus nos publice bellum decrevimus ceteri latrones aut prædones sunt.*" This was the doctrine of Grotius and Bynkershoek, but not that of the Canton River, where blockade after blockade was proclaimed, without anything approaching to a declaration of war. When, in 1640, China affairs were under discussion in England, a leading writer thus referred to this very point: "The Canton River ought to be immediately blockaded, but not, we trust, until a declaration of war, and a subsequent or simultaneous notification of blockade shall have been promulgated; for, why should we follow the lawless example of modern France? We mention this with a view to prevent cavil from neutral nations, who are, at all times, naturally annoyed or extensively injured by a blockade. That a blockade, without a declaration of war, is illegal, must, we think, be admitted by all. No Power can legally institute a blockade except a belligerent; and we were not at war with China. We may, perhaps, blockade the port of a foreign Power who has done us an injury, or on whom we have claims, without a declaration of war; but, under such a blockade, we have no right to prevent the free ingress and egress of the ships of a neutral Power." Such doctrine is no longer fashionable; for, while Lord Palmerston, as late as March, 1857, said, at Tiverton, "that it was the greatest mistake to suppose England was at war with China. It was no such thing;" and the Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Labouchere) declared in his place in Parliament, that while there was certainly a war in China, there certainly was no war *with* China; there were blockades and bombardments and burnings, and neutrals and neutral rights were never thought of. Eighty-three American ships, with a tonnage of 64,000 tons, entered at Canton in 1855. In 1856 this trade was extirpated, and has continued so ever since, in a quarrel to which we were not parties, and by processes utterly unsustainable on any principle of public law; and yet there was no complaint or interference on our part. Surely, I may say, that neutrality was not intrusive or mischievously active.

On the 10th of February, the blockades were raised; peace proclaimed, except at Canton; matters restored to a treaty basis; and, at the same time, the neutral Powers of Russia and the United States were invited to join in an earnest and peaceful appeal to the Court of Peking for the redress of grievances, and a revision of treaties. In what spirit that invitation was received and answered, will appear from the correspondence. There seemed to be all round cordiality and confidence and good feeling. And here I gladly avail myself of the occasion to bear my testimony to the moderation, as revealed in the correspondence with Yeh, before the fall of Canton, of the belligerent plenipotentiaries. I refer especially to Lord Elgin's, which has been laid before Parliament and printed. Nothing, it seems to me, could have been more considerate and humane. On the 13th of February, I wrote to Washington that it was impossible to read it without being impressed by the evidence not only of moderation of demand, but of reluctant resort to arms. The military notices were equally considerate of the duties of humanity. Thus regarding them, it was with an earnest sympathy, that, on the part of the United States, I acceded to the suggestion of the English and French Ministers, that we should jointly appeal to the Imperial Council at Peking. The Russian Minister united in it with equal cordiality. I beg to read a single extract from my letter (which is a public one) to the Supreme Council, dispatched to Soochau coincidently with the others, as illustrative of the feeling which then animated me. It was certainly no doubtful sympathy on my part:

"Of all that has occurred at or near Canton, the undersigned has been an anxious spectator, and it is due to the cause of truth, too long concealed from the immediate councils of his Imperial Majesty, for him to say that the warfare which the representatives of Great Britain and France have waged, has been, in every act, the warfare of conscious and magnanimous power, has not been prolonged a moment beyond the line of a moderate necessity; and that the treatment of a city taken by assault, and of a high functionary, captured as the Imperial Commissioner was, in the fresh excitement of conflict, and with the sight of the misery he had occasioned all around, will be regarded by the civilized world as illustrative of the highest humanity. That warfare is now over. The safety of the city of Canton depends entirely on the will of the United States. Peaceful commerce is resumed by all who choose to partake of it; and the high functionaries, representing the august sovereigns of France and Great Britain, have again resolved on an experiment of peaceful negotiation, and on another more solemn and direct appeal to the Imperial Court, in order to avert difficulty in the future. In that effort, so worthy of Christian Powers, the undersigned, on the part of the United States, and the representative of H.'s Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, have been invited, and have agreed to join. We have not only been invited to join in the general effort at pacification, but we have been unreservedly informed of the specific objects which the Allies have in view; and the undersigned, on the part of the United States, expressly says, that in the promotion of these objects, he and his Government cordially concur."

So stood matters at the end of February, 1858, and in about a month the four ministers arrived at Shanghae, whither we had asked the Imperial Council to send a plenipotentiary to meet us. The result of this part of the peaceful experiment is well known. We were met not only by an evasive reference to Canton, whither the new Imperial Commissioner had gone, but by a positive refusal of the Imperial Council, at the Capital, to correspond with us. The letter of the Russian Minister was not even answered, except in the form of a message through me. In this state of things, no conference was acceded to determine the course we ought to pursue. It was a simple instinct to refuse to follow the new Commissioner to the south of China, and to repair at once to the north, and seek access there. On the 1st of April, my determination was communicated to Peking, in these words. After reciting the refusal of the Council to correspond directly, I took occasion to say

"The undersigned therefore treats this message (through the Governor-General) as no answer at all, and means to go at once to the Gulf of Pechelee and mouth of the Peiho, accompanied by the great ships of his nation, and there demand access to the Imperial Court or the high officers, who are bound to correspond with him;" and I then took occasion to add, in order to dispel any idea that a diversity of opinion existed, or was likely to exist, among the Western Powers:

"The undersigned further informs the Supreme Council, that in the course he has prescribed for himself, it is his intention to act in friendly and thorough concert with the Plenipotentiaries of England, France and Russia, whose interests in China entirely harmonize, and whose action, since the hostilities at Canton have been suspended, is strictly co-operative." I wrote to the Government at Washington in the same spirit; and it was at this time that Lord Elgin said to the English merchants at Shanghae, that "it was a matter of the highest gratification to know, that in pursuing a policy of combined moderation and firmness he could count not only on the hearty cooperation and active support of the representative of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, but also on the good will and sympathy of the representatives of other great and powerful nations interested with ourselves in extending the area of Christian civilization and multiplying those commercial ties which are destined to bind the East and West together with bonds of mutual advantage."

It was a continuous and earnest effort on the part of the representatives of the two neutral powers to induce the Chinese to yield, and thus prevent the necessity of force and avert bloodshed; and I avail myself of this opportunity to make one disclaimer, which I desire to do in terms as distinct, precise and comprehensive as language affords, so that there may be no room for criticism. I desire to say, that for the assertion or insinuation which has been so current and so positive that there was between the Russian Minister and me any plan, combination, agreement express or implied, or understanding, having for its object the frustration of the policy of Great Britain or France, so far as it was known to or surmised by us, there is not a shadow of truth. It is a fabrication, pure and simple. Either in intercourse with the Chinese officials, or in correspondence with my Government, no word escaped me of infidelity to the common cause of Western diplomacy. Even when our judgment hesitated as to the expediency or propriety of measures which were adopted, we shared our doubts with no one. I hope this denial, made on the honor of a gentleman, will be received as it is made. Let me not for a moment be understood as denying that between His Excellency, Count Putiatine and me, there were the most intimate and confidential relations. Excluded as neutrals, perhaps properly so, from the councils of the belligerent allies, we naturally drifted into close intimacy, which ripened, on my part, and I have every reason to believe on his, into warm personal friendship, which I never have known. It may be matter of wonder to some who speculate on uncongenial associations, that Russians and Americans can be friends; but no one familiar with our history can fail to see why it is so.

The effect of our movement northward was immediate, for agents from the capital at once presented themselves and sought an interview. The first that came being sent merely "to manage affairs," and who were the same that baffled Mr. McLane and Sir John Bowring in 1854, were not recognized, but notes were sent to the capital by the plenipotentiaries announcing their arrival, and six days allowed for an answer. Within that time a new Commissioner arrived, the Governor-General of the Province of Chili, one of the highest officers of the Empire, who announced himself as Imperial Commissioner in conjunction with those previously sent, and as authorized (these were the words of his letter) "to meet their Excellencies, the Honorable Foreign Ministers, and seriously deliberate with them concerning the affairs mentioned in the letters of their several nations." The first note was not received, owing to a derogatory informality in the address. A second note was then written by the Chinese, and received, being brought me in a boat from the *Audacieuse*, where Baron Gros and Lord Elgin were in conference, and accompanied by the exhibition of their cards. I had every reason to suppose that the Governor-General's letter was satisfactory to the Allies, as it was to me. On the 20th of April, three days before the time allowed for an answer from Peking, the English and French gunboats crossed the bar and anchored near the forts. I took for granted that this was meant less as a hostile demonstration than as a means of giving force to the negotiations about to begin, and on the 20th, the Russian Minister and I went in our respective ships and anchored behind the gunboats.

Nearly two days elapsed after we entered the river, and there were no signs of our colleagues. In the meantime the Chinese were importunate for an interview. They were urgent, courteous and respectful. On the 1st May, in answer to an urgent request for me to fix a time for an interview, I wrote to them "that I was unable at this time to do so, being anxious to confer with the ministers of Great Britain and France, before I could designate any time or place," and I then added more explicitly, "As he has already informed the Imperial authorities, there is in the course of policy now pursued, entire concord of feeling between the ministers of the Four Powers, and the undersigned thinks that any separate action on his part, when there is an opportunity of consultation, might be regarded as an unfriendly act. He is in hourly expectation of the arrival of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, and will be ready on Monday at the latest (to-morrow being a day of rest,) to give a positive answer as to a place of meeting." A copy of this note was at once sent to the allied ministers, and so anxious and perplexed by this strange reserve did Count Putiatine become, that he went out to the fleet in order to ascertain what new state of things had occurred.

On the night of Sunday, the 2d of May, I received from the allied ministers the first intimation of their decision not to meet the Imperial Commissioner, on account of his not being willing, or perhaps able, to procure in advance what are known as "full powers." Why this difficulty was not made known to us sooner, and why the Russian Minister and I were allowed, in utter unconsciousness of it, to go into the river, I am yet at a loss to understand. Without undue tenaciousness, I confess I felt hurt at this palpable want of confidence, and did not think it consistent with the respect due to myself or my country, to be going in and out, or to be at the beck and call of those who thought it right to pursue so unusual a policy.

Beside, in the exercise of the best judgment I could form, I did not agree in the opinion that *before* an interview, the production of "full powers" was essential, or, indeed, if negotiations in good faith could be begun, that it was worth while to be critical or exacting as to the technical powers. I attached to these formalities just as little value, as it is understood, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros did to ceremony when they ceded the place of honor to Pehqui and the Tartar-General at Canton. The questions of the precedent production of powers and of their sufficiency are very different. It was with the first only that I had to deal. I had promised the Chinese officials, having come into the River on an errand of peace, I would meet them, and I saw nothing in the new scruple of the allies to make me wish either to recall or reconsider this promise.

And here, arraigned as I have occasionally and thoughtlessly been, for a want of fidelity to my co-operators, (I have to use the word for want of a better,) I must refer to a matter of interest, and which I confess, in some of its relations, is yet a mystery. In the Yamun of Yeh, in Canton, were found many important documents, throwing much light on the past relations of the empire to foreigners. These were translated, and were in the hands of the Allies. Some of minor importance were shown to me. One, however, purporting to be the report made by the Commissioners who met Sir J. Bowring and McLane in 1854, and the Imperial comments or *rescripts*—a document of great and painful interest, as illustrating the habitual faithlessness of Chinese officials—was in the hands of the Allies during the period of difficulties at the Peiho, and was never shown or seen by me. I never saw the document till three months afterwards at Shanghae, when all was over, and it had but a faint historical interest. I do not venture to affirm that this was purposely withheld. It may have been forgotten. It related largely to American affairs. It would have enabled me, in the difficult complication which arose, to regulate my conduct by a full and accurate knowledge of the whole truth. In one view I am sincerely rejoiced that the inadvertence or intention to which I refer kept these documents from me. They were certainly the most painful revelations of the mendacity and treacherous habits of the high officials of this empire yet given to the world. They cannot be read without contemptuous resentment; and I have no such confidence in my equanimity and self-control as to determine what might have been my inclination before and after the fall of the Taku forts, had the contents of these papers been known to me. Nothing, of course, that the Chinese authorities, high or low, could say or write would have materially influenced my course of action under or without instructions, but had these papers been seen by me, I am quite sure the moderate confidence I had in their professions would have been lessened, and my conciliatory tendencies not a little embarrassed. If it be, as I think it was, a mistake on the part of the English and French ministers, concealing or omitting to communicate these things, it was not without its good fruits in allowing my peaceful incinations to have full scope. I do not at all regret what was done or omitted last Summer, but I deprecate any criticism on the course of the United States when, either intentionally or inconsiderately, information to which we were entitled in the friendly cooperation to which we supposed we were invited, was withheld.

Thus unenlightened, but acting under a clear sense of duty, I landed at the forts, and had two interviews with the Imperial Commissioners. They were in great measure formal, but in some respects they were, or might have been insignificant. That their powers were limited, and that any treaty in the aggregate was to be referred to Peking, for approval, I found to be true; and yet I have little doubt that if I had not been restrained by a sense of what was due to others—under Yeh's powers, a treaty, with every variety of most favored clauses, might have been made, which would have been ratified in forty eight hours. There are precedents in our own diplomatic history for waiving the production of ample, or any full powers—one which is very remarkable in its resemblance to what occurred at the Taku forts, where the Chinese Commissioners said they could negotiate, but the treaty when agreed to must be referred un-

signed to the capital for approval. When, in 1783, Mr. Adet (a very Chinese) was sent as Minister of the French Republic to the United States, he was another to negotiate a treaty, but not to sign till it had been referred to France for approval. General Washington's administration agreed to treat on this basis, in view of the great exigency of affairs. In 1791, Mr. Hammond was sent by Great Britain authorized to enter on negotiations, but not to conclude them. But to have done so here, would have been unfair to those with whom I desired to act in good faith, and at none of the interviews was that topic certainly entertained by me. They were improved, as I thought, by earnestly impressing on the Chinese the necessity of yielding to all the preliminary demands of the belligerents, the certainty of defeat if they continued to resist, the moderation and reasonableness of what I then understood were the ulterior demands; in short, every persuasion and argument was resorted to, to obtain the very ends which all had in view. The details of these interviews were regularly communicated to Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, and, I am happy to believe, were properly estimated, for, another term of six days having expired, on the 19th of May, when the allies determined to assault, and the forts; the Earl of Elgin, wrote to me, "I need not recapitulate the history of our endeavors to be satisfied with Yeh's powers, as you are already familiar with it; but I cannot refrain from expressing my acknowledgments to you for the exertions you have made to bring the Chinese authorities to more reasonable sentiments."

On the 20th, the Taku forts were summoned and taken possession, and the way to the capital, at last, seemed to be opened.

It was not, however, until the 26th, that the allied Plenipotentiaries made their advance up the river, and on the evening of the same day, on Lord Elgin's invitation, and in pursuance of a determination formed and communicated beforehand, the Russian Minister and I followed, reaching Tientsin the following morning. I was the honored guest of his Excellency Count Putiatine, and, through his courtesy, the flags of Russia and the United States were hoisted on the *Audacity*,—the flags of the two nations who were, and meant to be, at peace with Chine. Ten days before, the ensigns of Great Britain and France had been carried in amity at one mast-head in the midst of battle with the Chinese.

The negotiations, which began almost immediately after our arrival at Tientsin, with the new Commissioners, who presented themselves, were necessarily distinct, but, so far as the neutral Powers were concerned, were shrouded in no mystery. Walls certainly there were no extreme confidences on the part of the belligerent Plenipotentiaries towards us, there was, on my part at least, no reserve as to what I was doing, or expected to accomplish. The draft of such a treaty as I desired, or rather as I thought practicable, was sent to Lord Elgin and Baron Gros before we reached the river. Baron Gros' sketch I received at once, Lord Elgin's not till some time after, at Tien-tsin. In one particular I allowed my draft, in compliance with an earnest wish expressed by Lord Elgin. The details of each formal interview with the Commissioners were duly interchanged, and there was not a word of conference between the Chinese and me at any time, or with any object, that was kept secret or withheld. On the other hand, (and I must not be understood as complaining of it,) for some reason—sometimes adequate—what course of conduct, or policy or negotiation the belligerents were pursuing, was not told to us. All that we knew we learned from the Chinese officials, and on their revelations, never encouraged, we could not depend; and I here interpose the affirmation that: when we were thus made the depositories of secrets we had no wish to learn from them, no word ever passed my lips, except in the way of persuasion, to yield to the demands of the allies. The fact that at an early stage of the negotiations a letter was written by the Imperial Commissioners, promising to make the required concessions, was never known by me till months afterwards. I read it in the columns of the newspapers. The dark shadow of suspicion of English generosity was between us. I lamented it then—I lament it now; for, but for that, I have every reason to think, much less unobserved policy would have been pursued. Even as it was, I don't permit myself to doubt that had I, as the representative of the United States, been content to have placed myself at Lord Elgin's disposal, to have remained inoffensively silent and passive till his work was done, he would have aided me, by retaining his forces here, to get a treaty identical in terms to his, and thus have had the honor of making a treaty for America as well as for England. But it required not a small amount of self-respect and regard for the dignity of my country to override such an idea utterly from my mind. Shut out then from the counsels, and no confidence of those with whom we supposed we were invited to cooperate, we had but one course open to us, which was to go on quietly with our separate negotiations as best we might, and not interfere, one way or the other, with those of others. This we did; and, on the 13th and 16th of June, respectively, without an unkind word or thought—by a course of friendly conference, either directly or through deputies appointed on each side, that was most creditable to the Chinese, the Russian and American treaties were signed.

There was another reason for signing these treaties in advance, or rather whenever they happened to be ready, which it is due to candor I should state. There was more than one moment during the sojourn at Tientsin, when it seemed to us, and I suspect to the allies, there was no little danger of a rupture between the Chinese and the English and French, of the war being renewed, and of their treaties being indefinitely postponed. Had that occurred and such lingering hostilities been instituted between Tientsin and the Capital as must have followed, I have no hesitation in saying, that in conformity with my instructions, and my own utter disgust of this strife of the strong with the weak, I should have retired from the scene. That such a danger at times existed I then believed and still believe, and I can imagine nothing more discreditable to the parties who might have precipitated the contest, than such a war in the North, originating from such causes. Had the Imperial Commissioners in despair at what seemed to them the exorbitant demands of the allies, fled from Tientsin; had the Emperor as was surmised might be the case, abandoned his Capital and retired to Tartary; had the military or diplomatic necessity existed for the allies to without cavalry, artillery or commissariat, either to occupy Tientsin till reinforcements should arrive (India yet in mutiny,) or to advance on Pekin: had any or all these results occurred, a heavy responsibility. In comparison with which the Lorcha Arrow hostilities were nothing, would have rested on those through whom the evil came. It was the sense of this possible danger that never ceased to operate on my mind, and made it perfectly clear to me, that my public duty required me to accelerate as much as possible the signature of my treaty. No one is more sincerely grateful than I am that this danger was averted, and that the Chinese Commissioners never resorted to the expedients of flight or resistance.

Of the American Treaty signed on the 18th of June, I am glad to have a chance of speaking. It has been adopted and ratified by my Government, and, with its privileges and its restraints, is now the law of both lands. Its provisions regulating the public correspondence of the two nations and requiring the deposit of the Treaty at Pekin, and an official promulgation, put an end forever to that delegation of duty with reference to foreigners to distant provinces and subordinate provincial officials. It contains the first concession of the right to go to the capital that has in modern times been made to a nation of the West, not tributary,—for in the Russian treaty there was but the recognition of an ancient right—and it was in the form and under the limitations my judgment yet approves, and which, I venture to hope and to foretell, unless Peking is doomed to be a new Constantinople, will ultimately be adopted by all as it has been by Russia and France. It recognized Christianity and secured the full immunity of missionary effort. It protected Christian converts. It facilitated the purchase of real estate by foreigners. It reduced the tonnage dues. It settled the vexed question of the place of official intercourse, at the open ports and cities, one of which had arisen Sir John Davis' little war of 1847, and which had protracted Sir John Bowring's bigger conflict (not yet I fear ended,) of 1856. It opened new ports. It regulated in great detail after the benefit of twelve years' experience, the commercial relations of the East and West, and taking for its model the British Treaty of 1842, by very comprehensive, "most favored clauses," (which the Chinese gladly assented to,) gave us everything that might at any time be granted to other nations. Of such a treaty, made in peace and friendliness, without an unkind word or thought, without a threat, or a pang, or a scar, adopted and approved by China and my own country, I have no reason to be ashamed.

Of the interval between the signature of the American treaty, on the 18th June, and those of the English and French, on the 27th and 29th, and what occurred, I must say a word, as it has been the subject of specific and most malignant misrepresentation. I pass by the melancholy episode of Kuying with the remark that, in the intercourse, brief and strictly ceremonial as it was between us, the subject of the English and French negotiations, or demands, never was directly or indirectly alluded to,—and with the expression of my absolute incredulity, on the evidence before me, as to his influence in stimulating popular tumult among the wretched, timid population, at Tetsatin, Kuying's agency, whatever it was, did not continue long. His doom was soon sealed. Repelled by the allied plenipotentiaries, he was condemned to the scaffold or to suicide; and I confess I look back to this strange scene of the drama with entire contentment, that I extended courtesy to a broken-down old man, and that no share of responsibility for this poor heathen's all rests on me.

During the interval to which I have referred, the path of my duty was clearly before me. It was to remain where I was, not even to seem to break the concert which was professed; to show, by my presence, and my counsel if it was asked, that I was interested in the success of the allies, and to render good offices, if I could do so inoffensively. This course I steadily pursued. On two occasions only did I (and the same remark applies to the Russian Minister) depart from another rule I prescribed to myself of not interfering with the action of others,—I mean by appeal to them.

It has been alleged that, just before the English and French treaties were signed, the Russian Minister and I, either at the instance of the Chinese, or from our own evil impulses, engaged in an intrigue—the last, I believe, that is attributed to us—to fabricate intelligence—the courteous words being to "forge or imagine a fable," and to detach the French Minister from his concert with Lord Elgin, so far at least as to abandon the claim for a permanent embassy at Pekin, and five ports to the rivers and the interior. Nay, it went still further, for some successes in this sense are attributed to us, for, said the *Times* (Sept. 27), speaking with an air of authority, "if our information be correct, the two most important articles of our treaty, the resident Minister at Pekin, and the right to go to any part of the interior for curiosity or trade, were in peril at the very last moment, and were obtained by England simply headed, and only by a stroke of happy audacity." There can be no other interpretation of this than that, by some sinister influence, or his own free will, Baron Gros, being detached from his colleague, the latter was left to act alone and single-handed, and so succeeded. Now the truth is the French Plenipotentiary never approved of a permanent embassy to Peking, and had it not, in his treaty now, exacted under the "most favored" clause, that the privilege of access to the interior, as he claimed it originally by the rivers, never was for a moment yielded.

As to our agency at this crisis, as it is called, of the negotiations, it was simply this: As early as the 15th I received from the Imperial Commissioners a most courteous and respectful letter, asking me to represent to Lord Elgin the earnest desire of his subordinates, who had used to them violent and offensive language. The style of the letter was so proper and respectful, and the facts stated with so much precision, that, after full deliberation, and some misgiving as to how it might be received, I determined to send it to Lord Elgin, taking care, however, to express no opinion as to the accuracy of the statements in the Chinese letter. It was received in the spirit I hoped for; but the incident was small, and, in itself, I take for granted, left no deep impression.

One other matter of graver interest (it occur, to which I have not the least hesitation in referring. On the day or the day but one before the French and English treaties were signed, the Imperial Commissioners addressed a communication to the Russian Minister and me, separately, for neither of us knew of the other having received a letter, begging to know us at their residence in the city. There was every reason that we should go. Arriving at the Yamun about the same time, we were courteously received by the Commissioners, whom we found in a state of great agitation and anxiety. The object of the interview was then explained. It was to ask our intervention with the English Minister, as to certain demands, the permanent diplomatic residence at Peking, and the free navigation of all the rivers, which, they said to us, they could not concede, being prohibited by an Imperial decree. They told us that the French treaty had been agreed to, with the exception of the one article as to the standard text, and whether it should be French or Chinese; and, on this point, I can happy to believe that the assurances and expressions of confidence of my friend and Secretary, Mr. Williams, in the integrity and high scholarship of the English and French interpreters, removed the difficulty. On the other points they were most importunate, and in their agony implored Putiatine and I (we were compelled to oppose a positive refusal to interfere in the way they wished. We asserted them to be aside from the questions of propriety and delicacy, we were convinced that our interposition would do more harm than good, and that under no circumstances or inducements could it be thought of as to Lord Elgin. They then implored us to speak in their behalf to the French Minister, which we reluctantly agreed to do, taking care, over and over again, to limit our agency to a statement of facts, and securing the Commissioners, that we should give no counsel and express no opinion as to the matter. This was done, and our representation received by Baron Gros with the friendly courtesy and consideration which always characterized him. He asked our permission to communicate what we had said, and as we had said it, to Lord Elgin, to which we gladly consented. Of course, I have no means of knowing, except from results, what passed in the subsequent conferences of the allied Plenipotentiaries. The French treaty, without the obnoxious clauses, had, as I have said, been already agreed to. Its signing, however, was postponed till a day after Lord Elgin's, and then was executed "without the concession of what by the latter was obtained. In other words, judging the relative value of concessions by their extent, the English treaty, signed on the 26th, contained more than the French, signed on the 27th, and this, if I am right, and the remark of the *Times* as to Lord Elgin's "single-handedness" confirms it, without the French Minister knowing anything about it.

By what means, or influences, or instruments, Lord Elgin at the last moment attained these concessions, (one of them already abandoned,) and in what consisted the "happy audacity" which secured it, will, I hope, be made known when the history of English diplomacy in China comes to be written, and it is in reference to this point that I refer to the fall of Kuying, that I have said that it is not without its good fruits in allowing my peaceful incinations to have full scope, and that I do not at all regret what was done or omitted last Summer, but I deprecate any criticism on the course of the United States when, either intentionally or inconsiderately, information to which we were entitled in the friendly cooperation to which we supposed we were invited, was withheld.

Such is the narrative of American action and negotiation at Tetsatin. Whatever its merits may be, whatever benefits may result from it, no one can impute disingenuousness or reserve as to ultimate or immediate designs; still less intrusiveness

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

THE ITALIAN QUESTION.

Preponderance of the French Emperor—Nationality of Italy and of Europe—Unfitness of the Empire of France.

Europe—Unfitness of the Empire of France.

Nothing more distinctly characterizes the present Emperor of France than his persistent devotion to the traditional and dynastic views of his family, in regard to the European system. In the latter, therefore, of his *idees Napoleoniennes*, issued at Bressuire just twenty years ago, we see embodied in a distinct exposition of his views upon the Italian question, and the solution which he then proposed to it. We have not space to enter into the considerations tended to this end, but it was necessary, in order to reach the present, to allude to them. The combinations of the "Empire" are the same now as then, and the principles of the letter "Empire c'est la paix," are as far asunder as the poles. We would have considered it unnecessary to allude to this letter, but for the fact that it has been republished in the London *Times* of Monday, with the following introduction:

"The Holy Father" and "Europe" are the two powers to which the Emperor replied in public on the occasion of his reception of the Roman deputation. The letter of the Emperor is addressed, in the form of a private communication, to the Minister of State, and is published in the *Moniteur* of the 5th inst. It is, as it were, a key alliance of the policy which is to be pursued by the Emperor in the Italian question, and the publication of the letter at this moment is evidently intended to prepare the public mind for the declaration of war."

Then follows the letter, which we condense as follows:

"Holy Father: In the present circumstances, when the Revolution is ready to break out in the Peninsula, when the Sardinian army is concentrated on the frontiers, when the Austrian troops are preparing to cross the Po, I should be wanting in my duty to myself, to France, and to Europe, if I did not speak openly to your Holiness. Your Holiness has been deceived as to the nature of the movement which is agitating Italy. It is not a party movement, but a national movement. The object of the Italians is not to overthrow your temporal power, but to free themselves from foreign influence. The Italians are not Revolutionists, but they are exasperated by the sufferings which they have endured for the last ten years. Their cry is not, 'Down with the Pope!' but 'Down with the Austrians!' Your Holiness has only to choose between the affection of your people and the hatred of foreigners. Your Holiness has only to choose between the affection of your people and the hatred of foreigners. Your Holiness has only to choose between the affection of your people and the hatred of foreigners.

SPORTING.

THE UNION ASSOCIATION RACES.
AT FED. ALLEN'S CORNER, LONG ISLAND.
THE UNION JOCKEY CLUB.
UNDER THE DIRECTION AND MANAGEMENT OF

EXCURSIONS.

LONG ISLAND RACES—FREE BOATS WILL leave the foot of Peck-slip and foot of Fulton-st. every day, at 10 A. M., and return after the races.

THE STAR BOAT
FOR THE GRAND DERBY.
THE JONES HOUSE BOAT
WILL proceed on the Jamaica course down the Bay, ON THURSDAY, JUNE 3,
to accompany the Grand Regatta of the New-York Yacht Club. It will be the new Jones House Boat, which has been refitted and refurnished for the occasion, and will afford a delightful opportunity for the ladies and gentlemen of the Club to witness the Regatta.
Tickets, $5 each, may be had at the office of the Club, No. 8 Pine-st., corner of Nassau, and at the Jones House, foot of Fulton-st., East River.

NEW-YORK YACHT CLUB REGATTA— EXCURSION—FREE BOATS.—The Steamer JAMES A. HEWLETT, Captain Hewlett, will proceed to the Regatta, leaving pier No. 1 North River, foot of Chambers-st., at 10 o'clock A. M. Tickets, 50 cents each. Children half price. Boat will leave Jamaica at 4 P. M. for the return.

EXCURSION—WITH THE NEW REGATTA. For the new-York Yacht Club, on THURSDAY, June 3, the steamer JAMES HOWARD will proceed at 10½ A. M., leaving foot of Murray and Warren sts., North River, as follows:
Ticket office on board.

NEW-YORK YACHT CLUB REGATTA— The steamer JAMES A. HEWLETT will leave foot of Chambers-st. at 10 A. M. Tickets, 50 cents.

GRAND REGATTA OF NEW-YORK YACHT CLUB—THE BOAT FOR THE OCCASION will be the magnificent new steamer MEADOW BROOK, Capt. Wm. H. Brown, which will proceed from foot of Murray-st., North River, at 10 A. M. Tickets, $1 each. Apply on board.

GRAND REGATTA OF NEW-YORK YACHT CLUB—THE STEAMER ISAAC BELL will leave foot of Chambers-st. at 10 A. M. Tickets, 50 cents each

The New-York Times.

NEW-YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1, 1859.

THE NEW-YORK TIMES.

Is published in the Times Building, fronting the City Hall Park, on Park-row, Spruce and Nassau Streets.

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Terms—Cash invariably in advance.

All letters to be addressed to the "New-York Times," New-York City.

Amusements this Evening.

LAURA KEENE'S THEATRE—A Midsummer Night's Dream.

NIBLO'S GARDEN—Ingomar—The Wanderer—La Vasa, Gardes.

WALLACK'S THEATRE—Money—Boarding-School.

BOWERY THEATRE—Maid and the Trapper—Evelyn Wolfe.

NATIONAL THEATRE—Lucia—The Hidden Hand.

BARNUM'S AMERICAN MUSEUM—Uncle Tom's Cabin.

WOOD'S BUILDINGS—Sable Brass Minstrelsy—Scandina.

IAFE GEO. CHRISTY'S OPERA HOUSE—Ethiopian Monstrosity—Signor D'Orsonti.

Mails Close at the Post-Office.

North—Albany, Buffalo and Canada.....3½ P. M.
North and West Way Mail.....3½ P. M.
Western Rail via Erie Railroad...5½ A. M. and 3½ P. M.
South and South-western Mail....5½ A. M. and 4½ P. M.
Rail for Boston, by Railroad.....5½ A. M. and 3 P. M.
East by Steamboat.....4 P. M.

The Overland Mail for California leaves St. Louis every Monday and Thursday, at 9 A. M. Letters designed for it should be marked "Overland, via St. Louis."

The Overland Mails from St. Joseph, (Mo.) to Placerville, via Salt Lake City, leaves St. Joseph every Saturday, at 9 A. M. Letters should be marked "Overland via St. Joseph."

Ocean Mails.

The European Mails by the steamship *Vanderbilt*, hence for Southampton, will close at the New-York Post-office on Saturday, June 4, at 12½ o'clock.

NEWS OF THE DAY.

The R. M. steamship *America*, from Liverpool on the 21st of May, with three days' later European advices, arrived at Halifax about 8 o'clock last evening, but through the refusal of the Nova Scotia Telegraph line to forward the dispatch to the Associated Press, we are unable to furnish the news this morning. An express, however, was started between Halifax and Sackville, which will probably reach the latter place by the time the American line opens this morning, when the news will be immediately forwarded.

The Hon. W. B. Reed, our late Commissioner to China, made an address before the Board of Trade in Philadelphia, explaining the details of his mission, and the particulars of the Treaty which he negotiated. The address evinces great ability, and is exceedingly interesting. We give it in full in our columns this morning.

A caucus of the National Democrats of the State was held yesterday, in the Astor House, Judge Akin, of Dutchess County, presiding. An address was presented, reporting the failure of a Committee, appointed at the previous meeting, to secure an audience of the Democratic State Central Committee, and arguing the folly of introducing National questions into the next State Convention for the nomination of State officers. The feeling of the meeting was obviously opposed to the election of Delegates to the Charleston Convention other than by popular Conventions in each of the Congressional Districts. On this point the meeting was most decided. The Convention adjourned, subject to the call of the Committee appointed at the meeting on the 10th of May.

The Rhode Island General Assembly met at Newport yesterday, and organized, after which Mr. Turner, the newly-elected Governor, was sworn in and assumed the duties of his office. *No election of Lieutenant-Governor* and *Treasurer* having been made by the people, they were elected in Joint Committee—Mr. Sanders as Lieutenant-Governor, and Mr. Parker as Treasurer. Both these gentlemen were the American-Republican candidates.

John Byers, who murdered Thomas Phillips at Merrittsville, C. W., in December last, was executed yesterday at that place. He confessed his crime at the gallows.

An incendiary fire occurred at Wilkesbarre, Pa., yesterday morning, involving a loss of about $30,000. Fourteen buildings were consumed.

A very remarkable phenomenon at sea is reported by Captain Hodges, of the bark *Rolla*, from Galveston. On the 4th ult., in the Gulf of Mexico, the vessel passed through a thick "scum" on the surface of the water, which extended as far as the eye could see from N. W. to S. E. The substance resembled coal-tar, and gave out a smell peculiar to that article. The ocean also gave off steam, as if some hot substance had been poured into it. The phenomenon was attributed to a volcanic eruption at the bottom of the Gulf. Immediately afterwards the vessel experienced a violent hurricane.

In the Court of General Sessions yesterday, William E. Moore was tried for the murder of John Van Wart. The defendant was a sailor, who had married a woman of very loose character. During his frequent absence at sea, she made herself agreeable to sundry men, of whom John Van Wart was her noted favorite. On the 28th March last, Moore, having reached this port from Liverpool, found her in Worth-street, in company with Van Wart. Jealousy got the ascendant in Moore's breast; a quarrel ensued, in the course of which Moore stabbed Van Wart in the abdomen, from the effects of which he died. The evidence yesterday produced failed to show that Moore actually intended to kill Van Wart; and the Jury, after a brief absence, returned into Court with a verdict of guilty of manslaughter in the third degree. Sentence was reserved until Saturday.

The June Term of the Court of Appeals will commence on Tuesday next, the 7th inst., at Albany. A list of the first forty causes on the calendar will be found in another column. The whole number of causes is 565. The printed calendar will be ready for delivery on Saturday.

The Board of Supervisors met yesterday, at 3 P. M., directed that several small bills be paid, transacted some routine business, and adjourned to Tuesday next.

The trotting match between *Flora Temple* and *Ethan Allen* for a purse of $2,000, best three in five, in wagons, mile heats, took place at the Fashion Course yesterday afternoon. *Flora Temple* won the first heat in 2:25, the second in 2:27½, and the third in 2:27½. The time is the fastest on record.

The anniversary of the New-York Sunday-School Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was held at the Academy of Music last evening. The house was filled by about six thousand persons, and the exercises, consisting of recitations and music, were unusually interesting. Bishop Janes presided.

A fair business was transacted in Breadstuffs and Provisions yesterday; prices of the former were steady, and of the latter irregular. Sugars were quite active, while Molasses, Coffee and Rice were in moderate request. Common Rosin was in good demand. Cotton was inactive and depressed. The freight engagements were restricted. Included in the shipments for Liverpool were 3,000 bushels Corn, in ship's bags, at 3d. per bushel. This is the only engagement of Breadstuffs reported for Liverpool or London for a long time past.

The Germans and the Sunday Liquor Traffic.—We observe with regret that the *Staats Zeitung* and one or two other German dailies seem disposed to mislead their readers as to the object sought by the memorialists on the Sunday liquor-traffic. No new laws are demanded. No old and obsolete laws are dug up for enforcement. All that is asked of the Police Commissioners is, the firm and forbearing execution of laws and ordinances enacted under the Administration of Mayor Woon, in 1856, and by the Legislature of 1857, and this, after due notice served upon the offending parties.

It is no crusade of Temperance men against liquor-sellers, but a calm appeal from a large body of our most conservative citizens, justly alarmed at the increase of taxation, pauperism, and crime demonstrably connected with Sunday tippling, for protection against the lawless and demoralizing traffic on that day.

Nor is it a movement of American citizens to abridge the rights or to interfere with the comforts of citizens of foreign birth. The presentation of the memorial in English, by an influential delegation, with Mr. Finck at its head, was accompanied by the presentation of a German memorial, numerously and respectably signed, by a German delegation, with Mr. Moeller, a wealthy sugar-refiner, at its head. Thousands of our German fellow-citizens feel as deeply the dangers and the disgrace of the Sunday tippling habits of some of their emigrant countrymen, as any American can. We are assured on good authority that it would be quite easy, if it were needful, to present thousands of German names, attesting their opposition to the immoral and destructive traffic which brings their national character into reproach. The law-abiding element is strong in the German character; and when it is known, as it must eventually be, that the Sunday lager-bier theatres and dancing saloons, and kindred places of temptation to crime and wrong-doing, are condemned alike by the laws of the State and the public sentiment of the City, the Germans themselves will be the foremost to sustain the authorities in restraining the selfishness and disorder of the few thousands among them who prey upon the substance and disgrace the name of our Teutonic fellow-citizens.

The organs of German opinion in New-York will neither advance the interests nor strengthen the influence of the race which they represent by angry appeals to the unenlightened prejudices of their readers, against the deliberate drift of the best public sentiment of New-York. With the German theories of Sunday observance in general we have nothing to do. We advance no Pharisaic and sweeping criticisms upon the customs which make the Sunday of the German so different a day from the Sunday of the Englishman or the American. Races may well differ upon this as upon so many other points of ritual worship or substantial theology. But it is perfectly compatible with the largest toleration that we should insist upon the observance by all classes of the community of statute laws which have been enacted by the delegated agents of the whole population. The minority which undertakes to brow-beat the officers of the law into suspending the discharge of their duty, and seeks practically to nullify the established order of municipal authority, is quite as justly chargeable with overbearing bigotry as the majority which sustains that order. A fanaticism of lager-bier is certainly not more respectable than a fanaticism of cold water; and if our German cotemporaries really think themselves aggrieved by the Crusaders of Temperance, they can hardly ask us, therefore to acquiesce in their own contemptuous trampling under foot of the law of the land.

Lotus-Eating Philanthropy.

The Northern form of lotus-eating is not a very noble development of human character. In the soft, luxurious Southern clime which gave birth to the legend of the "mild-eyed melancholy" race, whose sum of life it was to "lie upon the hills, like gods together,—careless of mankind," indolence and selfishness seem to lose half their shame by losing all their shabbiness. The warm sunshine, and the glowing skies of the Mediterranean, clothe the Southern egotist with a kind of ideal beauty, which makes one half tolerant of his real worthlessness. You can forgive him for being so very lazy in that he is also so very picturesque.

But the lotus-eater of more temperate latitudes and less seductive scenes, is simply a "loafer." He is the type of the school of *laissez-faire* in political economy, and shocks the world's moral sense by doing nothing where so much needs to be done, and caring for nobody where so many need all the care they can find. Prosperous or poor, in plenty or in penury, dozing in his great arm-chair before his well cleared table, or lounging among the tar-barrels on a dilapidated wharf, he is equally a cumberer of the earth, and a scandal to his kind.

But he is never so repulsive as when he seeks in promiscuous and impracticable declamations of a vague impersonal philanthropy, a constant excuse for shirking all positive sympathy, whether of word or deed, with any specific man or men who may be standing directly before his face, and requiring his active attention. Your general and professional philanthropist is the worst of cynical dawdlers. He balances his perpetual abuse of those who do not need his help by his lazy sneers at those who do. Show him a slave-owner busy among his slaves, and he will rattle you off a chapter of vituperation worthy of *Meg Merrilies*. Show him a slave asking for money to buy his freedom, and he will pooh-pooh the fellow as an idle imposter.

This viler sort of lotus-eating is the ceaseless joy of our savagely philanthropic cotemporary the New-York *Tribune*. That journal is the sure haven of all remote and impracticable schemes for ameliorating the condition of future generations; and the sure refuge also of all existing and removable wrongs. With the *Tribune*, "Man never is but always to be blest." If there arises a question demanding immediate, warm-hearted, energetic action, the *Tribune* is always ready with a protest in favor of the superior importance of some other question which cannot possibly be urged upon mankind in any practical form for at least fifty years to come. This proclivity of our cotemporary has never been more amusingly exhibited than in its comments upon the existing war in Europe. So long as the liberation of Italy was a distant vision—say, for instance, such a distant vision as the establishment of the Irish Republic—the *Tribune* dosted upon Italy; it was a theme so prolific of fine phrases, so abundant in taunts for the despots, and in rousing appeals to cars that were supposed to be closed in the slumber of death. But Italy has awaked, and the *Tribune* is appalled at the spectacle of a people really trying to free themselves in a blunt, practical way, and willing to take the sword that is put into their hands, though it be an Emperor of the French and not an Editor of the *Tribune* who draws it. Why couldn't the noisy wretches lie still and *starve, and suffer*, cries the *Tribune*, and let me go on lamenting their fate? So vexed is the *Tribune* with the activity of Italy that it sets about drawing up a regular bill of indictment against Sardinia for disturbing the peace of the world. The Austrian Chancery itself could not have bettered the *Tribune's* diatribe. If our readers suppose that we are misrepresenting our cotemporary, let them ponder the following delectable passage, extracted from yesterday morning's issue of this journal of Humanity, Equality, Liberty and Fraternity:

"Nobody can pretend that Sardinia has been forced into this war in defence of her own independence and free institutions. The very strongest ground upon which her case can be put is, that she has generously risked her own independence and free institutions for the chance of being able to extend them to her neighbors. That is to say, she could not let well enough alone. Her own freedom and prosperity became despicable in her eyes, unless she could bring in the rest of Italy to share them with her."

In other words, the *Tribune* holds up Sardinia to execration for doing precisely what the Royal Colonies in America were so foolish as to do when George III., of blessed memory, undertook to crush Massachusetts for insisting on her rights and liberties. Why could not South Carolina and Virginia have left New-England to her fate, and hugging themselves in the favor of their King, turned their goodly backs upon that "cantankerous" and uneasy land? Simply because "they could not let well enough alone." Why do silly men and women, who might sit at home and fill themselves comfortably with the good things of the earth, go wandering about among the poor and needy, "finding their own prosperity despicable in their own eyes unless they can bring in their brother-man to share it with them?" Simply because they "can't let well enough alone!" And why does the *Tribune*, neglecting all the peremptory and palpable calls of human want, and all the actual appeals of noble human action, devote itself so assiduously to the agreeable dilettantism of an impertinent and abusive "philanthropy?" Simply because the *Tribune* "can let well enough alone;" because the *Tribune*, finding that an exclusive devotion to the internal affairs of the State of Alabama, and to speculations upon the millennium, involves no necessity for the painful exercise of the reason, or for the difficult acquisition of knowledge, greatly delights to "let well enough alone," and to be allowed to rattle off its daily quantum of misinformation and recklessness in its own cheerful, lazy way. Whether the American people will think as meanly of Sardinia as the *Tribune* does, for putting herself, with her blood, her treasure and her national honor, into the van of battle for the liberty of her kindred States of Italy, is, however, quite another matter.

Economical Charities.

One-eighth of the whole population of our City were on the sick list last year, and received gratuitous medical aid! The number of patients treated in 1858 by the five Dispensaries of the City was 149,140; of these, 85,955 were under 15 years of age, and of this latter number three-fourths were under four years. Over 30,000 of the whole number were visited at their homes, in cellars and garrets, tenement-houses and hovels, by the Dispensary Physicians. Assuming the present population of the City to be 800,000, and deducting the large proportion of one-third of the aggregate of the sick, as having been sick more than once during the year, we reach the conclusion that one-eighth of the whole mass of our people when sick relied on the charity of the Dispensaries for relief. It is no part of our purpose at this time to declaim against the miserable sanitary condition of a city situated as ours is, with every facility for cleanliness, and with no excuse for an epidemic, which permits so extended a sick roll. We only pause long enough upon the point to remark that the names and location of each, of the sick are recorded in the Dispensary books, and that when we have an Inspector and a corps of Health Wardens competent to draw an inference, they will avail themselves of these minutely recorded data to map the City for sanitary and preventive purposes. The epidemic centres they will find the centres of crime, and of abject poverty. Indeed, if three maps were constructed from the reliable statistics on file—one by a topographer, marking in blue the localities where old river-beds have been filled up without proper drains to carry off their remaining water, and where sewers have been constructed without reference to which end of them their contents were to be emptied from; another designating in the same color the spots of greatest sickness and the largest mortality; and still another, showing by the same color where crime is oftenest committed, where thieves and prostitutes herd, and all manner of brutalities are the every-day experience—the three maps would present one appearance, and might, without much risk of mistake, be substituted, any one of them for the other. These considerations are not foreign to our topic, since we never can discuss the methods of relieving or preventing physical suffering without naming the very means by which crime is to be prevented.

But our present object is simply to call attention to the economy of these quiet, noiseless charities, the Dispensaries. To be convenient of access to those who need their aid, they are of necessity located in parts of the City remote from the dwellings of those best disposed to support them. The two older ones are in Wards which are very sparsely peopled with those who enjoy at the same time large hearts and long purses, and hence the obvious propriety of forgetting questions of locality in aiding them. Of the almost 150,000 sick, 83,185 were of foreign birth, and if the children of foreign-born parents are added, probably two-thirds of the whole number may be counted as strangers among us, for whom every consideration of our common humanity pleads, since to no other quarter can they look for help.

But a further examination of the Dispensary books shows that their total expenditures during the year were only $21,000,—or an average expense to each patient of fourteen cents. If the services rendered had been paid for at the very lowest rates that physicians charge when they charge at all,—say at fifty cents a visit and twenty-five cents a prescription,—the expense would have been $226,422. But few of these patients have at home such nursing and diet as is proper for the sick. In extreme cases, the Dispensary physician is authorized to send them to Bellevue Hospital; last year 4,116 were disposed of in this way. The report of that hospital shows that within its walls last year, 9,177 persons were treated, or, deducting 40-9 children born in its lying-in department, 8,768, at an average cost of $9 66 each. Even if there were no Dispensaries, very many of those treated at them might escape the necessity of going to the hospital, but how many more hospitals would be needed to accommodate the thousands whom neglect would force to seek their wards, or perish uncared for? Bellevue is a well-managed hospital, yet its patients average $9 66 cost each. The Dispensary patients average a cost of 14 cents each. Who will doubt the economy of supporting the Dispensaries well, of enlarging their operations, of increasing their facilities for preventing disease from fastening mortally upon the ailing? To support the Dispensaries last year the City and State authorities appropriated $9,000. This year the public appropriations are still less, though an abundant equivalent was rendered by the gratuitous vaccination of 14,390 persons. The balance of the expense is paid by a few friends, who know their necessity, their humanity and their economy. The contributors to the Eastern Dispensary last year, when all told, numbered 125! We have not the reports of the other institutions at hand, but if the Eastern has the average number of friends, it would seem that some 725 persons bear the whole burden of caring for the sick poor, though they, number one-eighth of the whole population, and by their quiet benevolence save tax-payers from such a draft upon their pockets as they have not yet dreamed of. But obvious as is the economy of sustaining the Dispensaries, they are not sustained handsomely. Unless donors are more liberal, or there are more of them, they will soon be crippled in their usefulness, and one or more of them is even now in peril of being given up altogether. The State, rich as it is in resources, is poverty-stricken in cash, and no party dare, by such a liberality to these institutions as they deserve, necessitate an additional eighth of a mill to the State tax. The City, which ought, without a question, to undertake their whole support, feels poor, because it is robbed at every corner and in almost every office. To the benevolent, then, and to sagacious tax payers, who would prefer to pay one dollar for prevention, rather than seventy for cure or for social expenses, is the last appeal of the Dispensaries.

The Yacht Club Regatta.

To-morrow the Annual Regatta of the New-York Yacht Club will whiten the waters of the Bay with graceful sails, and make a wholesome holiday for no inconsiderable number of the best portion of our community. The "June Regatta" has become one of the "fixed facts" of the Gothamite year. It is, in a manner, the "Derby Day" of our busy capital. The interest which it excites widens with each recurring anniversary, and it may fairly claim to be regarded as one of the most hopeful features of our City life that this should be so. Whatever tends to divert our sedentary and nervous people from their life of the counting-house and the street, into the breezy world of nature, and to dash business with sport, deserves the warmest encouragement.

The increasing delight which the ladies of New-York take in these nautical contests of their lords is therefore particularly satisfactory. The "bright eyes" will assuredly "rain influence" if they are not also permitted to "adjudge the prize." For this reason, then, if for no other, we are glad to see that the old course of the Regattas is still to be kept up, and that the yachts will be matched within limits which will allow the fairer part of creation to venture out into their company without any serious anxiety as to possible consequences. Moreover the practical qualities not merely of the yachts but also of those who sail them can be very well tested on the established racing-ground.

There can, however, be no objection to other and secondary contests of another kind; and the prospect of what is rather clumsily styled an "Ocean Sweepstakes," to be contested on the open sea at a future day, is a welcome addition to the programme of the year. And this the more especially that, in consequence of an absurdly crochety system of measurement, some of the finest yachts of the squadron have been so completely thrown out of their proper places in the race of to-morrow that their owners have withdrawn them from the course altogether. Science, which in yachting, as in other matters, is the best of servants but the worst of masters, has for a long time past seriously interfered with an equitable matching of the New-York Yachts for their various contests. The extremely elaborate, and altogether unsatisfactory "area-of-canvas" *rule has been abandoned only to be succeeded* by another not less elaborate, and certainly not more satisfactory. By its fruits it shall be known, and as its immediate operation has been to put vessels like the *Haze* and the *Widgeon* in the list of the second-class yachts, there to compete with schooners of two-thirds less tonnage, to which they must give odds of time in some instances equal to one-half the sailing distance, it may be safely said that its only effect will be to deprive this year's Regatta of much of its interest.

The yachtsmen who decline subjecting their vessels to tests so unfair will, however, take up the Ocean Race with the greater zest. In neither race, we are happy to believe, will any Plum-Gut navigating be allowed, a capable pilot of tried honesty, defended by two Argus-eyed policemen, having been engaged, it is understood, to keep watch upon the venerable navigator by whom that now celebrated channel was last year discovered. As a further precaution against the wiles of this shy old seaman, a guard-ship is also to be moored in the middle of the Gut; and no vessel of any sort, we may observe, *en passant*, will be allowed to pass until the arrival of His Holiness the Pope on his way to the noble Palace which the Editor of the *Herald* is now erecting by a forced loan for his reception on Washington Heights. The Pope, who will cross the Atlantic in one of the noble fleet of steamers purchased by our Government for the Paraguay expedition, will be transferred to the yacht *Rebecca*, off Holmes' Hole, and received at Castle Garden by Alderman Boole and the President.

A Ridiculous Story.

The London *Morning Advertiser*, the organ of the "pot-house politicians," which, like our own *Herald*, maintains itself in the main by manufacturing *canards* for the delectation of its stupid constituency, has just produced one of the silliest which ever appeared in its columns, in the shape of the paragraph we published yesterday, entitled "Angry Correspondence between France and England." The gist of the story is that France had angrily remonstrated with England because the latter allowed Austrian vessels to enter the port of Valetta, and thus save themselves from capture, while the French neither asked nor required such favors. That such a piece of absurdity should ever have found its way into print in London, is a remarkable proof of the condition of blind credulity into which the minds of a certain portion of the public fall in time of war. Nothing that the pot-house journals can invent seems too outrageous for the gullet of those who take their facts from them, and nothing that we have seen of late, even in the columns of the *Morning Advertiser*, matches *this tale for* senseless impudence.

France would have just as much reason for addressing angry epistles on this subject to the other neutral Powers as to England, because Austrian ships may find refuge from French men-of-war in any neutral port, from Cadiz to Cronstadt. If an Austrian merchantman were to take refuge in New-York, no French cruiser would venture to pursue her, and we should certainly come to the conclusion that the French Minister was crazy if he addressed a remonstrance to General Cass on the subject. If the British expelled an Austrian vessel from Malta, in order to prevent her escaping a French cruiser, *that* would be a direct breach of neutrality. That every neutral port is open to every vessel that chooses to steer for it precisely as in time of peace, is a fact of which we thought every man, woman and child in the British Empire was aware. But it appears that the editor of the *Advertiser* is better informed than we are as to the precise extent of the knowledge

[illegible] into the mouth of the French for [illegible] their "remonstrance" is even more [illegible] than the remonstrance itself. If it's a [illegible] which would justify any belligerent who [illegible] for the time being to prevent the [illegible] of the seas in declaring the ports of [illegible] in a state of blockade as regards the ships of his enemy. To hint at the possibility of a dispute between France and England on any such ground is rather to impute a want of common sense to both these jealous rivals; and is at [illegible] to the geographical and political intelligence recently displayed by [illegible] of London paper, the *Star*, in [illegible] the untabulated corner of Savoy, near the [illegible] frontier, with the whole inheritance of [illegible] passions of Sardinia and [illegible] the delegates of Lombardy in the line of the Alps.

Ill-planned Work.

In the interest of the community we must depart from our usual course on such questions, and express our regret that, considering the number of "difficulties" between blackguards of various degrees which occur every night, and in which the Police do not interfere, they should have turned over a new leaf on Monday evening last, only to meddle in the private differences of Colonel Titus and Colonel Anderson, of the Ex-Nicaraguan Ex-Army, at the St. Nicholas Hotel. If the Police are really about to begin a different policy with regard to these matters, we confess we should have preferred their postponing the change for a few days, until these two officers had settled their quarrels after their natural fashion. We think, however, that the St. Nicholas Hotel owes it to the public, by which it is so liberally patronized, to give up the bar-room and all the liquors therein contained to the rival Colonels and their friends for a day or two, and keep the door locked on the company. They should also be allowed to have their whole stock of bowie-knives, revolvers and spare cartridges within easy reach. Considering what these two soldiers have done for American civilization in the course of their military career, it is surely not too much to expect that New-York should give them a paltry bar-room to themselves for one short day, and prevent the Police from interfering with them in their chivalrous sports. If the proprietors will only be good enough to try the experiment, we think we can promise them the cordial thanks of a grateful public.

Juvenile Gallantry.

A morning paper of this City, disgusted that the "British journals" should make a noisy boast because "Prince Nicholas of Nassau has joined the Austrian Army as a volunteer," demolishes those journals by the withering information that the said Prince Nicholas "happens to be the person who once challenged Prince Albert to settle at the sword's point a dispute which neither would care to drag beyond the private history of the regiment in which they were then both serving as subordinate (or rather insubordinate) officers." When the "British journals" took up their idle vaunt on this subject, or why the "British journals" should think strong beer of themselves, merely because a prince of the house of Seidlitz-water has effervesced into the Austrian service, we neither know nor care to inquire. But if they really did imagine such vain things we fear they *will not be deterred from their evil ways by the* rebuke of our contemporary. The Prince Nicholas of Nassau "happens" to be not personally unknown in the good City of New-York, where he is still remembered as a bright-eyed, open-featured, good-natured, and rather blundering young gentleman of twenty-one. He was born in the year of grace, 1832, and as Prince Albert became a naturalized Englishman in January, 1840, and in February of the same year was joined in lawful wedlock to the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, his "dispute" with the Prince Nicholas of Nassau must have occurred before that illustrious youth had reached the mature age of *eight years!* Surely even "British journals" may be allowed to exult in the advent to battle of a Paladin whose knightly career must apparently have commenced in his cradle.

The easy and familiar style in which our contemporary alludes to things too dark to be disclosed, reveals so perfect a familiarity with the ways and works of European royalty and the German armies, that we don't for a moment doubt the strict accuracy of his statement. But we ask it of every candid mind whether a Prince who could get himself into regimental scrapes before he was put into trowsers, and who was posted in the *duello* ten years before he could coax so much as the downy shadow of a beard upon his princely chin, does not deserve the admiration of the whole world. Since Gargantua, no such *enfant terrible* has figured either in romance or history.

Sympathy with Italy.

The "world of New-York," technically so called, is now most agreeably and worthily occupied with the preliminary arrangements for a grand festival at the Academy of Music in aid of the families of the soldiers of Italian independence and liberty. We do not feel ourselves at liberty to give the details of the preparations now making for this most commendable demonstration; but we may go so far as to say that they already promise one of the most brilliant and interesting entertainments imaginable. The Italian artists of New-York have thrown themselves into the work with an enthusiasm and energy which merit all praise. That "Opera of Liberty," "I Puritani," will probably be given, with a cast embracing, beside the finest professional talent of the capital, an unprofessional prima donna of the best social position and the highest accomplishments; and there are whispers of the production of a new French play from one of the most fluent and forcible of metropolitan pens. The object of the celebration, the character of those by whom it will be controlled, and the scale of the entertainments now projected, will doubtless make the affair the event of the season, and afford a brilliant testimony to the sympathy which the chief City of free America feels with illustrious and unfortunate Italy in her noble effort to shake off forever the incubus that has weighed so long upon her people.

The Alleged Trial of Commander Ridgely by a Court Martial.—In one of the letters of our Montevideo correspondent, published a few weeks since, it was stated that Commander Ridgely, of the U. S. steamer *Atlanta*, had been ordered to a court martial on board the *Falmouth*, by Commodore Forrest, for having shaved the head of one of his sailors, and otherwise ill-treated the poor wretch so that in his desperation he jumped overboard and was drowned. A letter, signed by all the officers of the *Atlanta*, declares the statement to be untrue, and that they had never known of any unusual punishment having been inflicted on any of the crew of the *Atlanta* during the cruise. Our correspondent at Montevideo was, of course, misinformed. We learn from one of the commanders of the Paraguay Squadron that one of the crew of the *Atlanta* did jump overboard, but that it was done while he was in a fit of drunkenness, and that Commander Ridgely was neither court-martialed nor censured for it.

Foreign Postal Service.—The Washington *Star* says:

"The Attorney-General of the United States has recently furnished the Postmaster-General with an opinion in relation to the conflicting views of the Post-Office Department, and the chief accounting officer of the Treasury, concerning the payment of foreign sea service, the Postmaster-General holding that, according to the 4th and 5th sections of the act of June 14, 1858, he was entitled to make contracts for the foreign postal service to be paid for out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated; and the Comptroller of the Treasury declaring that, according to the 3d section of the same act, no payment could be made for such service except in accordance with specific appropriations made in that section. The opinion sustains the views of the Postmaster General."

[illegible] Week.

[illegible] ON SATURDAY—PEOPLE WHO [illegible] PLEASURE BY RAIN—INCIDENTS [illegible] OUT [illegible] Ethan Allen.

[illegible] ON SATURDAY—PEOPLE WHO [illegible] PLEASURE BY RAIN—INCIDENTS [illegible] OUT [illegible] Ethan Allen.

[illegible] Among them were numerous delegations from New-Orleans and Richmond.

About 3 o'clock *Ethan Allen* made his appearance, Hiram Woodruff holding the reins, and some minutes after Daniel Talleman brought out *Flora Temple*, both animals being harnessed to light wagons. Great applause welcomed their appearance. *Ethan Allen* seemed to be in much better condition than his competitor, and the brilliant success which he achieved a fortnight since, coupled with his fine appearance, rather served to overshadow the fame and name of *Flora Temple*, particularly as the latter seemed to move a little stiff. The betting, before the race, was $100 to $60 on *Ethan Allen*. Both horses made brief dashes around the course by way of satisfying the curiosity of the spectators. The track was in excellent order, and the nirwas so good as to be much more comfortable for the horses than for the spectators. The "Sheriff" on his spavined steed, rode up and down in front of the Judge's stand ejaculating, in his sharp, cracked voice, "clear the track," every ejaculation apparently being produced indirectly by spikes in the saddle seat.

By 4 o'clock, everything being in readiness, the horses were called for the start by the ringing of the bell. After two or three ineffectual trials they came up to the score handsomely, and the word "go" was given. *Flora Temple* having the inside of the track. *Ethan Allen* buckled down to his work beautifully. At the first quarter, *Flora* made a slight break. *Ethan Allen* soon brings her down again, but at the half mile she is a length and a half behind, the stallion making the distance in one minute and eleven seconds. *Flora* gradually gains on the horse ahead; amid deafening cheers closes the gap, and comes to the Judges' stand a length and a half ahead of *Ethan Allen*. Time is announced amid great applause. The mare has accomplished the mile in 2.25.

Fifteen minutes was given for rubbing down the horses and preparing them for the following heat. The admirers of *Ethan Allen* were rather chapfallen. One of the most ardent of them offered $60 on *Ethan* to $100 on *Flora*. It was so eagerly taken up as to show strong confidence in the mare's abilities to carry off the prize. The owner of the stallion, it was said, went to the Judges' stand and charged the driver of *Flora* with having run her during a portion of the heat just concluded. Apparently no notice was taken of the charge, and the horses were called for the second heat.

In this heat the horses do not get so good a start as before. *Flora* has the advantage of half a length when they leave the Judge's stand. *Ethan Allen* breaks badly on the first quarter, and at the half-mile post is two lengths behind the mare. The latter maintains her advantage to the end of the heat, which she completes in 2.27½.

During the intermission which follows, the enthusiasm of *Flora Temple's* friends knows no bounds. They cheer until their throats will stand it no longer, and subside into silence only through necessity. The largest odds are offered on *Flora*, but find no takers. Just before the third heat the "Sheriff" again exerts himself to clear the track. A pack of small boys set his authority at defiance. He turns suddenly to charge upon them, and in his haste upsets a policeman, to the intense delight of the spectators.

On the third heat *Flora Temple* has the advantage at the start by half a length. *Ethan Allen*, in his efforts to close the gap, breaks more than ever, and falls behind sadly. He makes another noble effort at the half-mile post, which bids fair to be successful, but soon after breaks so seriously as to bring Hiram Woodruff to his feet, and the issue is decided. *Flora* comes in again a length and a half ahead, in 2.27½. The Judges declare that she has won the heat, and the $2,000 purse, and the spectators make a sudden eruption from the course and a grand rush for the cars.

As before, every standing place is occupied, the platform cars being packed as closely as the five stock cars on the Erie Road. When within two or three miles of Hunter's Point, an occurrence took place ludicrous in itself, but which at first threatened serious consequences. Suddenly the locomotive emitted a series of shrill whistles, as if attacked with a distressing colic. Those in the rear cars were surprised at seeing fifty or seventy-five persons performing somersaults down the embankment, while others were standing on their heads in the sand-bank, or testing the utility of their noses as plow-shares. What was the cause of this general excitement, could not at first be divined. It appeared, subsequently, that an extra train, which was coming up from Hunter's Point to accommodate the crowd of passengers, had nearly come in collision with the heavily-loaded down train. Those who saw the imminence of the danger escaped from the cars as they best could, some making their exit through the windows. On the arrival of the train at Hunter's Point no boat was in readiness, and the crowd made for the new Thirty-fourth-street Ferry. The ticket-taker proved inadequate to the numbers who wished to cross, and the ferry-gates were carried away by the rush. Eventually things were set to rights, and the multitude managed to get to their City homes.

The following is a summary of the race:

Fashion Course, L. I.—Thursday, Tuesday, May 26.—Purse $2,000; best three in five in wagons.

D. Talleman, b. m. *Flora Temple*	1	1	1
H. Woodruff, b. g. *Ethan Allen*	2	2	2

	Time, 1st Heat.	Time, 2d Heat.	Time, 3d Heat.
Half mile	1:11	1:12½	1:13½
Mile	2:25	2:27½	2:27½

The races of the Union Association, at the Hoboken Course, commence to-day, and continue three days. The Jamaica sweepstakes of $100 each, with $300 by the Association, for three years old, closed with five entries. The Jockey Club Handicap, for the same day, one mile and a half, for all ages, sweepstakes $200 each, half forfeit, $1,000 added by the Club, closed with eleven entries. The third race, for the same day, purse $500, two-mile heats, entrance $50, closed with three entries.

Second Day.—Friday, June 3, is the great four-mile day, when the Union sailing stakes will be contended for. Purse $300, for all ages, mile heats, best 3 in 5. On the same day is the contest for the Union stakes; it is for four mile heats, by subscription of $250 each, half forfeit, with $2,500 added by the Association. It closed with five.

Third Day, June 8.—Purse $1,000, three-mile heats; also the Eclipse sweepstakes, three years old, mile heats, closed with six entries. On the same day the Boston Handicap for horses beaten during the meeting.

There are a number of first class horses in training on Long Island. Many of the first class are known to them, and some that are entirely unknown to the Turf. The English colt and filly are very much admired.

CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Coroner Ambrose Ashton.—Col. Ashton, Coroner of the Marine Hotel about 9 o'clock last evening, on the Atlantic Hotel, appropriate quilt at the residence of Colonel Ashton, in Hempstead, on Long Island. Deceased was about half a dozen others in the parlor. Thursday, and about half a dozen others in the parlor. Thursday, and about half a dozen others in the parlor. Thursday, and

FOR SALE.

FOR SALE—NEW-YORK AVENUE, BROOKLYN, two and three-story dwellings, in good order, and now rented. Large and small stores on Fulton and Bergen streets. Also, a new and desirable three-story brick house, with an addition in the rear, built by parties to occupy, and occupied by him for three years; contains every convenience for a large family, and in perfect order. Water closets, bath, gas, water, hot and cold water throughout; stable, with coachhouse and carriage-house; all to be sold cheap. Also, a two-story frame dwelling, in Bergen-st., near Flatbush-av. Apply to JOHN TAYLOR, No. 44 Broadway.

FOR SALE—THE STORE 100 FEET BY 80, WITH the basement and cellar, No. 210 William-st., adjoining the corner of Ann-st., and extending through to Gold-st., about 100 feet, and fronting 80 feet on each; about 100 feet of which is in the rear of No. 214 William-st. and No. 1 Ann-st., and fronting on Gold-st. Inquire of JAMES BOORMAN, No. 110 Nassau-st., or the tenant occupying the premises, No. 210 William-st. Apply to WM. G. GILMORE, No. 70 Nassau-st.

TO LET OR LEASE—THE FOLLOWING MODern houses: The Osborn and high-basement Stores No. 152 Mott-st., with all the best many English basement houses in Mercer-st., and one of the store and small dwelling houses No. 161 Mott-st., between Prince and Houston-sts. Apply at No. 30 Mott-st.

TO LET—A TWO-STORY FRAME HOUSE WITH kitchen in rear in Hunterfly-st., near Broadway, in first rate condition, hard walls, marble mantels and grates, and a desirable location. Apply to M. D. WOODRUFF, No. 676 5th-av.

TO LET—AT LOW RENTS, TO SMALL AMERIcan families, above the creek, consisting of three rooms on the first, three on the second, and two on the third floors. Apply at the store No. 148 West 10th-st., from 1 to 4 P. M.

TO LET—THE BRICK BUILDING, STORE AND two-story dwelling, No. 45 Sheriff-st., between Houston and Stanton-sts. Apply to WHITE & VAN ZILE, at the small house on the corner of Broome and West-sts.

TO LET—THE SECOND FLOOR OF THE HOUSE, pleasantly located, No. 45 Charlton-st., above Varick, consisting of the front and back parlors, bedchamber, and library in the bath-room. Gas, large yard, &c.

TO LET—HOUSE NO. 10 FRANKLIN-STREET, near Broadway; would suit large family or a store if desired. Apply to SHERIDAN, HOYT & CO., No. 16 Warren-st.

TO RENT—IN A BEAUTIFUL LOCATION, PART of one of the high-stoop houses in Madison-square, has all the modern improvements. Enquire on the premises, at 20 to 31 26th-st., near 5th-av.

SCHOOL ROOMS TO LET—IN THE BIBLE House, Astor-place, a suite of rooms well adapted for the purpose and easy of access to the city, by 4 first-class railroads. Also, to let in the same building, a few rooms desirable. Apply at the Treasurer's Office, in the Bible House, entrance on 4th-av.

HOUSES & ROOMS WANTED.

WANTED—BY A SMALL AMERICAN FAMILY, A second floor in the neighborhood of 20th-st. and 6th-av., to consist of 4 rooms, with water and gas. Terms must be moderate. Address C. B. H., Box No. 196 Times Office.

A RESPECTABLE MAN AND WIFE wish to take charge of a gentleman's house for the Summer months, or a gentleman's house that is to let, and will engage to give perfect satisfaction; have the best of City references. Can be seen for two days at No. 13 West 16th-st.

WANTED—A FIRST-CLASS BROOKLYN HOUSE in exchange for a handsome residence, situated at Tarrytown, N. Y. Full particulars and a photograph of the house may be found at W. H. SEYMOUR'S, No. 19 Nassau-st., Room No. 2.

FARMS.

FARMS FOR SALE—IN THE VILLAGE OF Hempstead, Long Island, 2 miles from the depot, 30 acres, with a new house, 10 rooms, and all other necessary buildings; good fruit, and about 10 acres of wood; also, 50 acres, with new house, 10 rooms, and all other necessary buildings; good fruit, and about 10 acres of wood; also, 100 acres, with house, 10 rooms, and all other necessary buildings; good fruit, and about 20 acres of wood.

FINANCIAL.

LOANS FOR CITY OR COUNTRY on bond and mortgage, by THOMAS & CO., No. 11 William-st., Room No. 11.

$18,000 to loan on real estate. Apply to J. F. WILLIAMS, No. 16 William-st., room No. 11.

$20,000. MONEY TO LOAN ON SOUND mortgage security. Apply to J. F. WILLIAMS, No. 16 William-st., room No. 11.

$18,000 TO LOAN ON REAL ESTATE security. Apply to J. F. WILLIAMS, No. 16 William-st., room No. 11.

$24,000 TO LOAN ON CITY PROPERTY. Apply to CALDWELL & JAMES, No. 66 Broadway.

WILLIAM HOOK & CO. have for sale Bills on London, Liverpool, Dublin, and the South and West, for sale.

BILLS AT 11 PER CENT DISCOUNT on Prime Business Paper. CALDWELL & CO., Bankers, 64 Broadway.

BILLS on London, and Letters of Credit for travelers, issued by DUNCAN, SHERMAN & CO., No. 59 Wall-st.

STATE BONDS FOR SALE.—THE BONDS OF the State of Louisiana, bearing 6 per cent interest, redeemable as a loan for twenty-five years, for sale by WILLIAM H. HOLMES & CO., No. 5 Nassau-st.

DAVIES, TURNER & CO. have for sale Bills on London, Liverpool, Dublin, and the South and West, for sale.

DAVIES, TURNER & CO. have for sale Bills on London, Liverpool, Dublin, and the South and West, for sale.

THE ANNUAL STATEMENT of the affairs of the ATLANTIC MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY, for the year ending May 31, 1859, will be published in the papers of this city on Monday next

[illegible] DEMOCRATS.

Another Meeting at the Astor House.

Resolutions of Confidence in the Mode of Proceeding of the Action of the Party in Appointing Some Convenient Time and Place for Choosing Delegates to the Charleston Convention.—Address and Resolutions.

A meeting of National Democrats from a portion of the counties of the State was held yesterday at noon, in the Astor House, pursuant to the terms of [illegible] appointment of the meeting held at the same place on the 10th inst., but directly contrary to the [illegible] circular letter, addressed by Mr. FERNANDO WOOD, [illegible] to secure, by personal [illegible] the attendance of that section of the Democracy [illegible] to which he is known to adhere:

To Mr. ——

NEW-YORK, Saturday, May 21, 1859.

DEAR SIR—At the preliminary assemblage of National Democrats from different parts of the State, representing over thirty counties, held at the Astor House, in this City, on the 10th inst., it was resolved to hold an adjourned meeting at the same place, on the 31st inst., at 12 M., in order to secure a more general attendance and expression of opinion upon a matter of action. The meeting, also, was of the opinion of a majority of our friends, was necessary, and gave assurance that the hearts of the true and loyal Democracy of the State, which the former faltered in upholding the banner of the party, still beat true to the cause. As the adjourned meeting, it is the earnest wish of our friends who assembled on the 10th, that their associates of the Old Guard should be fully represented from every county in the State. In their behalf I invite your attendance, and express the hope that you will not fail on [illegible]

[illegible] A. SPRAGUE.

The meeting was a large one, numbering [illegible] respective localities as representative of National Democrat's principles. In view of the approaching contest for political supremacy in the State, between the Democratic and Republican parties, and especially in view of the impending national struggle for the Presidency, and the patronage which accompanies it, the meeting of yesterday may be regarded as especially significant.

Much time was consumed in obtaining a presiding officer. First Mr. EDWIN CROSWELL, of Westchester, was nominated for Chairman, and accepted one vote. But Mr. CROSWELL, it was found, was engaged with the Committee that had been deputed to prepare the address and resolutions, and was consequently unable to serve. Then, after some time had elapsed, it was moved that Mr. JOHN H. BROWER take the Chair. Mr. BROWER was in like manner, elected unanimously, but he pleaded that, like Mr. CROSWELL, he had other engagements, and was not master of his own time, whereupon he was excused. Another and third nomination was made, that of Judge JOHN B. ADDIS, of Dutchess, who was elected without a dissenting vote, and consented to take the Chair.

The Convention then proceeded to appoint secondary officers, the list of which includes the names of Messrs. Foster, Williams, Bonforth, E. D. Sutherland, Cross, Erion, Hadfield, Little, and others from every quarter of the State. From New-York City no appointment was made, though among its delegates were Augustus Schell, John C. Mather, Richard Schell, Wm. N. McIntyre, Fernando Wood, Daniel E. Taylor, Thomas J. Barr, Geo. C. Genet, Gideon J. Tucker, Samuel Radcliffe and Charles A. May. The Democratic Press was represented by editors from Goshen, Geneva, Syracuse, Buffalo, Poughkeepsie, White Plains, Peekskill, Albany, Troy and New-York City.

The Convention having been thus far organized, one of the delegates observed that he saw some reporters present, and, as the meeting had been called privately, he suggested whether it would not be more in accordance with the views of the Convention to have those reporters removed.

Mr. DANIEL E. TAYLOR hoped they were too Democratic to go into anything secret in any of their proceedings. They opposed secret things here.

Dr. ELISHA SARGENT wanted nobody to take part in the meeting but those who had been invited; they should have the facts published however, and he would oppose excluding the reporters.

Mr. TAYLOR suggested the propriety of stationing an officer at the door, to prevent admission to people not entitled to participate in their discussions.

A member moved the appointment of a Sergeant-at-Arms.

Another said it struck him as perfect humbug to station a Sergeant-at-Arms at the door to exclude the public, and allow at the same time reporters to be present.

One of the younger delegates declared that the deliberations of the National Democracy ought not to be shut out from the light. Every man ought to be allowed to come here to see what they were doing. He was not ashamed of what they were going to do, and he was opposed to any concealment of the action of the National Democracy of New-York in the organization of their plan of proceeding. He objected to any Sergeant-at-Arms being appointed.

The gentleman who made the motion for the appointment said that, after this expression of opinion, he would withdraw it most decidedly.

Mr. SARGENT said he believed this meeting had met to act on a report and resolutions which a Committee had been appointed by the previous meeting to prepare and present to this adjourned meeting. He wished to know if that Committee was ready to report.

One of the delegates stated that most of the members of the Committee were in the room, and would soon be ready with their report.

In the meantime, it was proposed, in order to ascertain who were the delegates present, and to prevent outsiders from voting, the names of all the Counties of the State should be called off in alphabetical order, and that the delegates from each should give their names.

Some disposition was manifested to dispense with this proceeding as being both useless and impracticable, but it was urged that the proceedings of the National Democracy of New-York should not be given to the public as emanating from an indiscriminate crowd which might be composed of friends and foes alike.

The question, on calling over the Counties and taking the names of the respective delegates, was put, and carried unanimously in the affirmative.

Some delay ensued in consequence of no one present being able to furnish a list of the Counties. Eventually a blue-book was hunted up, and one of the Secretaries proceeded to call out the names. Out of the first eight or nine, only Albany, Broome and Columbia answered. When the calling had proceeded so far on the list as Cattaraugus,

A delegate, on one of the benches by the wall, moved that the further calling of the Counties be suspended. He said it was sheer nonsense, and only wasted time. Out of all the counties named, only two or three had answered, and if the whole list were called over in the same way, who was to know who were the persons in the room who had not answered?

These remarks were generally concurred in, and the attempt to carry out the original resolve, was, on motion, dropped instantaneously.

The question as to whether the Committee were ready to report was again put to the Chair.

A delegate replied that they would present themselves in a minute.

Whilst waiting for the Committee, an elderly delegate took the opportunity of stating that he had been requested by Mr. BROWN to say that he was not on PAUL CAGGIA's slate, but that he was ready to unite with the Convention in everything which might aid to redeem the State and promote the success of the National Democracy. [Applause.]

Mr. PARKER, from the Committee on Report and Resolutions, at length appeared, and said that, in the unavoidable absence of the Chairman, he would read the address which had been prepared. He mounted a chair and read as follows:

ADDRESS.

The Committee appointed under, and in pursuance of the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That a Committee of one from each Judicial District, together with the Chairman of this meeting, be appointed to meet the State Committee, in order to produce unity of action in the Democratic Party of this State, and to insist that the selection of delegates to the Charleston Convention shall be made subsequent to the next State election, and that this Committee report to an adjourned meeting on the 31st inst., at noon, at the Astor House, New-York,

RESPECTFULLY REPORT:

That your Committee immediately organized, by the selection of FERNANDO WOOD as Chairman, and WILLIAM C. BARNE as Secretary, and a letter, of which the following is a copy, was prepared and forwarded, by direction of the Committee, to DEAN RICHMOND, Esq., Chairman of the State Committee, at Buffalo:

NEW-YORK, May 11, 1859.

Dean Richmond, Esq., Chairman of the State Central Committee:

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of members of the Democratic Party, representing nearly every Congressional District in the State, held in this City on 10th inst., a Committee of one from each Judicial District was appointed to confer with the State Central Committee on the state of affairs prior to the Democracy of the State. As Chairman of that Committee I have been instructed to address you, and to respectfully solicit an early meeting of your body, to the end that we may have an opportunity to confer with it this month upon the subjects referred to.

Respectfully yours, FERNANDO WOOD,
Chairman of Committee.

On the 21st inst., a reply of which the following is a copy, was received from Mr. RICHMOND:

NEW-YORK, May 19, 1859.

DEAR SIR: I received your letter just as I was leaving for New-York. The subject of affording an opportunity [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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